continued to be Cabécar. Gabb [87] was the first to mention this as well as to recount the tradition of war between the Bribri and Tiribis which ended in 1827.[88] As a consequence, the winning Bribri became the political rulers of Talamanca. From this phenomenon, a King of Talamanca evolved.

At the time of Gabb, one family had the "hereditary right of chieftainship, and up to 1873, the reigning chief had theoretically full powers of government." [89] The chief was followed at his death by the best-suited person in the royal family, not necessarily the son. The situation in Talamanca at this period was so complex that a number of candidates for the position, all blood relatives, appeared. Each "King" was woefully lacking in preparation and was too firm an addict of alcohol. A sailor from Baltimore, Mr. John H. Lyon, who went to Talamanca in 1858 looking for fortune, fell in love with the country and made it his home. He had an Indian family and acquired such a strong position among these people that the Costa Rican government finally asked him to accept the task of governing the Talamancas.[90] For the purposes of the present study, it is worth noting that the memory of the "King" still remains and the clan to which the "King" belonged has continued as a mixture of Bribri and Cabécar (*see* Social Organization).

The Southern Side of the Talamanca Range. South of the Talamanca Range two names are associated with the region under discussion, the Coto and the Turucaca as we noted before. None of these peoples exist today although their blood remains in that of the composite Boruca of southeastern Costa Rica.[91]

In this area, however, on the very slopes of the range, are two settlements of Bribri and one of Cabécares, while in the General Valley, west of Potrero Grande, a small group of Cabécares are located in China Kichá (Orange Root) [92] at the confluence of the Pejibayal with the General River.

upper Changuinola River in Panama, and who inhabited at one time the Zorquín River.

[87] *See* Fernández Guardia, 1918, p. 127.
[88] Gabb, 1875, p. 489.
[89] Gabb, 1875, pp. 489–91.
[90] Stone, 1949.
[92] *Kichá* also means "string or rope."

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
[P.34(B)] SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

765 of an individual a year or more after death. The best description of such an event is pre-
114 sented by Gabb who assisted at the bone burial
765 of the last famous "King of Talamanca," Santiago. This has the historic value of an
[643] eyewitness report of a ceremony which today is impossible to duplicate, and forms an essential contribution to the cultural background of these people.[113]

765 Only in upper Talamanca and upper Chir-
[184] ripó is this type of funeral still practised, and at that secretly, because it is prohibited by
[756] the Costa Rican authorities. The dwelling of the medicine man takes the place of the "casa grande" or big house which was used for the purpose of ceremonials in connection with such burials. Here the bones are taken from the leaf bundle and wrapped in *mastate* by the Burier. Then this is placed on a long bench
533 beside the doorway. The medicine man sings,
765 mentioning *sibu* and recounting the life of the deceased and all his actions, for example: how he planted, worked, what he did, and where he went. The song also gives the reason for his death. If the dead was female, the song
[535] recounts her doings. A feast follows and sometimes a dance.[114] To the beat of drums (*see*
765 Musical Instruments) and rattles, the people and the medicine man accompany the Buriers
[764] who carry the bone bundle to the graveyard. Generally, this is situated on a ridge or near the headwaters of a stream. Here are located the clan graves known as *pų*. These are deep, round holes lined with four planks of an ex-
[824] tremely hard wood (*Xanthoxylum* sp. called *surí* in Cabécar) which does not rot easily. The Bribri line the bottom with stones, but the Cabécar do not bother to do this. The Bribri are more particular than the Cabécar in that the bones should not in any way touch the earth. An additional plank is inclined over
[614] the top as further protection. Each clan has its own grave which is used until it is full.
[178] Today, however, clans that are allowed to inter-marry are buried in the same shaft. The Burier removes the planks of the grave and puts the bone package in with his hands while the medicine man sings, explaining that now the soul has gone and will never return. After-
[279] wards, he arranges the planks as before. Chicha

[113] Gabb, 1875, pp. 500-503.
[114] Pittier, 1938.

765 782 825 sacrificing of a military macaw (*Ara militaris*) over the grave.

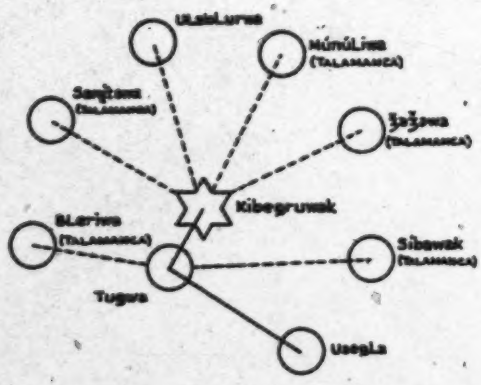
SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

614 [423] [756] [422] [627] [692] [681] [184] [423] certain clans still controls and keeps ritual property. This consists of drums or gold pre-Columbian figures (*see* Myths: *Clan Protectors*). Formerly the *usegLa* administered justice within the clan. Now the medicine man sometimes assumes this role although the most usual method is for the family of the culprit to take matters into their own hands. In extreme cases such as a sexual offense within the clan or murder, poison is given or the offender is buried alive. On the Pacific slope, land tenure by individual clans disappears. Three or two groups, as the case may be, settle in a given section such as Cabagra or China Kichá, and own land as a single unit.

These people know, however, of their Talamancan counterparts and keep as a goal [484] [184] [422] the idea of visiting, at least to know personally, the home site of their clan on the Caribbean watershed. Clan-owned ritual property does not appear on the Pacific. The family unit 692 on this side has been known to administer justice, but this task is usually left to the Costa Rican civil authorities in the nearest center.

614 [114] 565 [793] [693] Gabb does not seem to have considered the clans, rather he makes a distinction in social classes,[116] indicating the Cabécar *usegLa*, or high priest, as the spiritual head of both Bribri and Cabécar, while the temporal ruler was Bribri. This lay head was known as the "King" and tradition holds that there were two clans of "Kings." These were not inter-marriageable. Only one clan of these remains today (*see* Non-Documental History of Talamanca). The 793 Indians recount that the most powerful indi- 692 vidual was the *usegLa* who spoke both Bribri and Cabécar. It is said that complaints were passed from the "King" to him for decisive action. On such occasions, he retired to a secret and sacred cave which had much *pita* (*see* Fibers) at the entrance. There he had sacred jaguars known as "dogs" and snakes at his command. The last *usegLa* is supposed to [164] have died from smallpox during the first half of the 20th century. The clan of the *usegLa* 614 still exists, however, in the upper Coen, Tala- 177

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19
[P.36(A)]
Bribri
Cabecar
614
582



a

a, Nine Cabécar clans and their marriage relationships.

[128]

Key to the Diagrams of Clan Marriage Privileges and Relationships
Prepared by Dr. Gustavo Santoro, University of Costa Rica

The circles bear the name of the different clans.

All are found on both sides of the range except those indicated by the name Talamanca.

The complete lines which unite the center of the circles and the star represent the possibility of marriage between clan members of both sex.

The dotted lines leaving the center of a circle signify a clan whose males can marry women in the

[Text continues middle of P. 36(B)--Analyst]

manca, and on the Pacific slope. This clan does not accept Christian baptism nor marriage, remaining socially aloof.

614
1991

Indeed, we found that the clans and the professions connected with them functioned in a sense as social classes (*see* The Medicine Man). This is characteristic also in the elaborate ritual associated with death (*see* Death, Funeral, and Bone Burial). Certain clans are still associated with professional or social standing [117] (*see* The Medicine Man and The Singers) or with given trades, for example, among the Bribri the *durirak* are noted for their hammocks and carrying bags. The *umirak* made pottery and it is said that in the Lari region they still do. Likewise, food tabus are

614
463
[565]

262
614
[643]

[117] The *saLirak* and *sirrurirak* were associated with the Kings as well as the *brupurak*.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962

[P. 50(A)]

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Cabecar
Bribri

Dispersal

(*Cabécar*)

173 648 The medicine men recount that the Spaniards seized their people and sent them to Ujarrás and to San José.[186] They were hunted with dogs who picked up their scent. The Cabécares hid in the forests and killed the Spaniards and the dogs with arrows. This annoyed the Spaniards and they put armor on some of the dogs. Sick at heart, the Cabécares went to a waterfall and with the aid of a ladder, climbed up so the dogs couldn't smell them. The Indians then fled to different parts.

Sacrifice to a King

(*Bribri*)

173 597 [714] The last Bribri king adopted a young Térraba (*broshi*) boy and brought him up. He was so very brave that he did not need a shield[187] to protect him from lances when in battle. He fought for and defended the Bribri as if he were one of them, alone setting fire to enemy roofs. The sad fact, however, was that he was not a Bribri but a captured boy. When the king died, even though the young Térraba cried as if he had lost his own father, the Bribri killed him and he fell on top of the king's body.

The End of the *usegLa* and the King

(*Cabécar and Bribri*)

173 793 643 Neither the *usegLa* nor the King were good to the people. If someone laughed in front of the *usegLa*, his mouth became fixed in that position. If he looked in a way the *usegLa* did not like, his eyes were closed permanently. The King took the bravest men and tied them to posts and beat them with knives made of *pejibaye*.

The people did not like this and fled from

[186] This is not exactly true. The Costa Rican government forcibly brought Cabécares to Tucurrique and Orosi as punishment for uprisings in Talamanca. *See* Fernández, 1883, vol. III, ftn. 10, and section of History in this paper.

173 Talamanca. This upset the medicine men.
793 They decided to protect the people and they
bewitched the *usegLa* and the King. That is
643 why there are none today.
[754]

The Foundation of Cabagra

(*Bribri*)

173 The ancient Borucas made the original trail.
166 Over this came *teka*, the first man who came
to live in Cabagra. He left Talamanca because
643 of King *Berchí*[188] who took delight in severely
castigating the medicine men and ordering all
the people of the tribe. *Berchí* was a member
of the *sáLwak*[189] clan, so-called because he
had a monkey's tail, and anyone who laughed
at him he had beaten.

173 *teka* brought his whole family along to
166 Cabagra but they did not want to stay. He
returned them to Talamanca and came back
all alone. This trip took eight days. He was
173 not baptized, but later he was and received
797 the name of Ciriaco. We do not know his
family name. More people followed him and
settled in Cabagra because of King *Berchí*'s
cruelty.

A bishop came and rebaptized the population. Then he crossed the range to Talamanca accompanied by Térrabas, Borucas, and Cabagras.

The Last Kings of Talamanca

(*Bribri*)
(*Recounted in the plain.*)

173 Santiago Umaña belonged to the *kumbum-*
643 *wak* clan. He was the last king of Talamanca
and wore a gold hummingbird called *batzín*
in Bribri. He sold Talamanca to foreigners for
money and went to England to receive it. He
sold the children of our people.

Berchí was another king. He was the one who tied the best men to a tree and beat them to punish them. *Berchí* belonged to the *sáLwak* clan. He killed Santiago.

[597]
[714]

[187] Some Indians say turtle shell.
[188] *See* Appendix III: Antonio Saldaña.
[189] *sáL* is "monkey." *wak* is "race" or "seed" or "clan."

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19
[P. 102(A)]

APPENDIX III: ANTONIO SALDAÑA, LAST KING OF TALAMANCA

by Carlos Meléndez Ch.

CONSTITUTIONALLY, Costa Rica rejected the monarchical form of government in the third decade of the 19th century. Nevertheless, at the beginning of the present era, there was still a reigning king in this country. His name was Antonio Saldaña, a picturesque and proud individual who ruled over the Talamancan Indians.

It is most probable that the title of King among the Talamancans was borrowed from the Zambo-Mosquitos who, under English guidance, had established a "monarchy" on the Mosquito shore which was aimed at protecting the British claim within this area.

At the beginning of the 19th century and without any relationship to the political happenings in Costa Rica, the tribes of Talamanca began to war with one another, the Bribri winning.

There were three chieftains or kings of importance in Talamanca in 1862. These were Chirimo, Santiago Mayas, and Lapis. The most powerful one was Chirimo.[1] In July, 1867, the National Congress passed a law signed by the President of the Republic making the Talamancan chiefs "jefe políticos." This was a silent recognition of the position maintained by the kings in the community. The same law gave these individuals the right to govern and administer justice according to their customs, but under a Director of the Settlements. For this purpose, the government appointed Mr. John H. Lyon, a North American native of Baltimore, who had lived for many years in the region and was well known and respected by the Indians.

At the death of Chirimo, Santiago became the principal king. He visited San José, the

[1] Fernández Guardia, 1918, p. 147; Pérez Zeledón, 1913, pp. 148–49.

[P. 102(B)]

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19

APPENDIX III: ANTONIO SALDAÑA, LAST KING OF TALAMANCA

by Carlos Meléndez Ch.

643 648 capital of Costa Rica, in 1871, where he was cordially and sympathetically received by the authorities. This was due to two causes. The fact that he was handsome, intelligent, and cordial,[2] and to the geographical position of Talamanca which lay within the territory disputed by Nueva Granada and Costa Rica.

643 578 Lapis, the remaining king, could not tolerate the rise to power of Santiago. A feud began which terminated in the death of Lapis after he was forced to take refuge in the forest land. He left a heritage of hate to his friends and followers.

But the worries of Santiago were not over. Birche and Willie, who belonged to the *saLuak* [669] clan and were his cousins, commenced to conspire against him. In 1872, they surprised him by ambush and killed him. Birche remained master with Willie next in command. The incapacity of the first and the ambitions of the second soon created a situation in Talamanca which was difficult for the Costa Rican authorities to control.

643 648 [682] In 1864, Willie succeeded in assuming the power directly under Mr. Lyon. Six years later, however, the king was forced to flee across the range and become an outlaw because he committed murder and fought the national authorities.

643 [644] As the post remained vacant, the nephew of Willie inherited it. Barely 20 years old, Antonio Saldaña became king.[3] His capital was Túnsula, not far from Sipurio on the Sixaola River, and was formed by one large house or "palenque" which differed very slightly from the other habitations.

Antonio's personality was very similar to that of Santiago, with all his attributes and

[2] Pérez Zeledón, 1913, p. 143.
[3] Fernández Guardia, 1918, p. 160.

643 defects. The following is an eye-witness account of the young ruler at the beginning of this century:

> . . . from the first moment, I saw that that man was more than mediocre. . . A man born to govern; who was law to his people, and who bore on his face the mark of sadness but not of depression. His countenance is that of a person who commands. . . . What a fine man! I thought, and yet, Antonio, king of the Talamancas, has in all Costa Rica the poor reputation of irrational idolatry and uncontrollable passions! [4]

His dress was always plain, like a mestizo, and could have been confused with that of any Indian if he had not been accustomed as a chieftain to wear a necklace with six gold eagles, a feathered headdress, and carry the staff which is associated with power. When he went to the capital, he changed his costume and wore an impeccable black suit, cotton shirt and boots, which must have bothered him considerably as he was used to going barefooted.

[301] [292] [293]

There is little information about his youth which seemed to have lacked the preparation for what his destiny decreed as it was not until 1874, when his uncle Willie assumed the power, that there was even a suspicion that he might be a possible successor. The scarce data available recounts that his mother was drowned in the Lari River and that in his youth, Antonio traveled to distant places such as Guatemala and Panama.[5]

643 797 648

The naming of Antonio as King practically coincided with the arrival of Bernardo Augusto Thiel, newly appointed Bishop to Costa Rica, who became the number one defender of the Indians. It was on the 4th of July, 1881, during a visit to Boruca and Talamanca, that the Bishop first met King Antonio and Mr. Lyon. This opened a new era for the Talamancans as the churchman, according to one description, ". . . had the character of the Vázqueses de Coronado and the faith of the Antonio Margrils." [6]

Shortly afterwards, a letter of Antonio directed to the government of Costa Rica asking for aid gives evidence of his interest

[4] Segarra y Julia, 1907, p. 571.
[5] Tristán, 1922, p. 156.
[6] Fernández Guardia, 1918, p. 162.

643 797 648 in the progress and development of his people and of the satisfaction he derived from the visit of Mons. Thiel.[7] The attitude of the government of Nueva Granada in its desire to take over Talamanca and the awareness and interest of the Bishop, awoke the Costa Rican authorities and caused them to establish a farming and military colony called "San Bernardo." This weakened the power of King Antonio and he became more the nominal than active head of the Talamancans.

643 648 [262] The King made various trips to San José. The first took place in 1882, when he visited the "Casa Presidencial" and was invited to dinner by President Fernández. On this occasion he refused to eat the lettuce in the salad and referred to the fact that he wasn't a rabbit. In 1899 and in 1907, he returned to the capital where he gave rise to many more anecdotes filled with picturesque details.[8]

[434] Antonio had a tendency to take the law into his own hands. On more than one occasion, he engaged in smuggling merchandise from Nueva Granada. Other times, he would flare up against the Costa Rican authority in the region, particularly when he had had an excess of liquor. This happened frequently and created difficulties and problems which had much to do with his loss of power and respect. Once it was even said, and not without basis, that he tried to poison the Bishop and other priests.

643 644 Concerning his private life, it is known that he married twice. His first wife was Oleria, the mother of Victoria, Julia, Benito, and Juan Saldaña. By the second wife, Leonor Almengor, he had Julia, Claracín (a boy), Tranquilino, Little Tranquilino, and Ninfa.[9]

[613] King Antonio had three sisters, the eldest of whom was María, mother of José Saldaña. This is important because the lineage is inherited by the feminine side and the King's eldest nephew thus was his legitimate heir. José was distinguished looking, tall, thin, bright, and vain in his dress.[10]

643 King Antonio Saldaña died the third of January, 1910, during the celebration of a

[7] Pérez Zeledón, 1913, pp. 175–76.
[8] Segarra y Julia, 1907, pp. 573–96.
[9] Tristán, 1922, pp. 156–57.
[10] Tristán, 1922, p. 157.

643 funeral feast. It is said that his death was due to having mistakenly drunk tincture of iodine. What is probably the truth is that he was poisoned because of personal hatreds. Kohkemper[11] recounts the version which seems most acceptable. He states that Antonio fell out with an Indian woman and she poisoned him and afterwards met the same fate.

José, the nephew, died a few days later. It is not known whether his death was due to natural or violent causes. With his passing, the kingship of Talamanca remained vacant.

[292] [301] Some years after this, the French traveler Périgny, found the insignias of royalty well preserved. These included a headdress of eagle

[11] Kohkemper, 1954, p. 60.

643 292 feathers and the necklace with six large golden eagles, the remaining testimony of the last monarch in Costa Rica.

[301] In 1957, a group of Bribri Indians from Talamanca brought a headdress of eagle plumes, fashioned in the same manner as the one used by King Antonio, to the National Museum of Costa Rica. They asked that it be placed near the portrait in oil, dating from 1892, of the deceased ruler (fig. 14). This hangs in one of the halls of the museum and shows [301] King Antonio Saldaña with his royal jewels. This gesture is evidence that the memory of the last king has not been forgotten and that in spite of his debilities he remains important in the traditions of his people.

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962 SA19 Talamanca SA19

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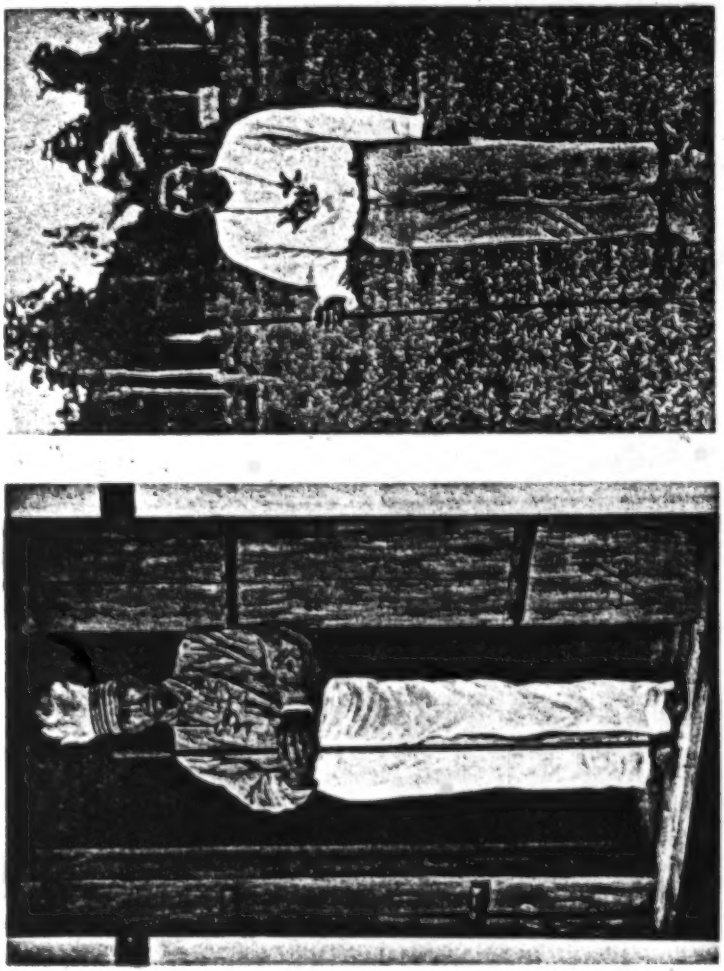

a, Oil painting of Antonio Saldaña, last King of Talamanca (courtesy of the National Museum of Costa Rica).
b, Photograph of Antonio Saldaña (from Fernández Guardia, 1911).

[END PLATE 13]